

MEN AND HUNGER



***GUETZKOW
and BOWMAN***

MEN and HUNGER

A Psychological Manual for
Relief Workers

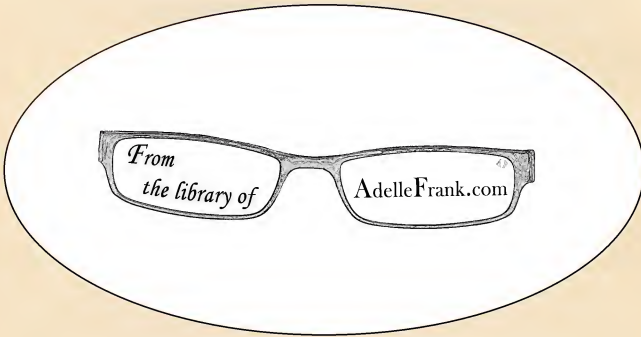
HAROLD STEERE GUETZKOW
and
PAUL HOOVER BOWMAN

DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM SCHUHLE
GRAPH BY WILLIAM WALLACE

BRETHREN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Elgin, Illinois

COPYRIGHT 1946 BY
BRETHREN PUBLISHING HOUSE
ELGIN, ILLINOIS

THE PRICE OF THIS BOOK
IS ONE DOLLAR PER COPY



Printed in the United States of America
by the
BRETHREN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Elgin, Illinois

To
the men
who starved voluntarily
in the hope that their privation
might aid millions
who starve involuntarily

MEMBERS OF THE SEMISTARVATION UNIT
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

WILLIAM F. ANDERSON, II
HAROLD BLICKENSTAFF
WENDELL BURROUS
EDWARD COWLES
GEORGE EBELING
CARLYLE FREDERICK
JASPER GARNER
LESTER J. GLICK
JAMES E. GRAHAM
EARL HECKMAN
ROSCOE HINKLE
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
SAMUEL B. LEGG
PHILIP LILJENGREN
HOWARD T. LUTZ
ROBERT P. McCULLAGH
WM. T. McREYNOLDS
DAN J. MILLER
L. WESLEY MILLER
RICHARD MUNDY
DANIEL J. PEACOCK
JAMES PLAUGHER
WOODROW RAINWATER
DONALD G. SANDERS
CEDRIC SCHOLBERG
CHARLES D. SMITH
WILLIAM STANTON
RAYMOND SUMMERS
MARSHALL SUTTON
KENNETH D. TUTTLE
ROBERT VILLOCK
WILLIAM WALLACE
W. EARL WEYGANDT
ROBERT WILLOUGHBY
GERALD WILSNACK

CONTENTS

PART I. INTRODUCTION AND EVALUATION

<i>From the Sponsors</i>	9
<i>From the Laboratory</i>	11
<i>From the Authors</i>	14

PART II. EXPERIMENTAL STARVATION

1. <i>How Does It Feel to Be Starved?</i>	19
2. <i>Behavior Changes Induced by Starvation:</i> <i>Motivational, Intellectual, Emotional and Social</i> <i>Changes</i>	23
3. <i>Behavior Changes Induced by Rehabilitation Feed-</i> <i>ing</i>	44

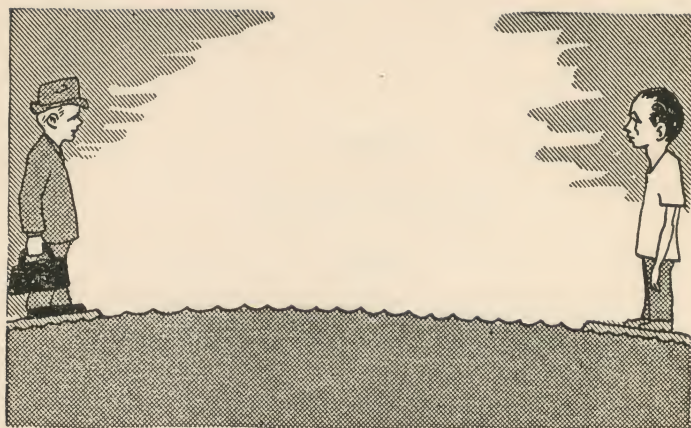
PART III. RELIEF WORK AND STARVATION

4. <i>Helping Starved People Psychologically</i>	49
5. <i>Problems Related to Feeding</i>	57
6. <i>Problems Related to Living Arrangements</i>	62
7. <i>Problems Related to Community Government</i>	69

PICTURE SECTION

LABORATORY ENTRANCE	33
STADIUM OF UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA	33
EVERYTHING WEIGHED	34
EATING WAS A SERIOUS MATTER	34
SUBJECTS WORKED	35
MEALS ANALYZED	36
MEASURING INTELLECTIVE POWERS	36
X-RAYS WERE TAKEN	37
THE TREADMILL	37
SORTING CARDS—PERSONALITY INVENTORY	38
BALL AND PIPE TEST	38
SWOLLEN FEET (EDEMA)	39
SUNBATHING AND STUDYING	39
AFTER SIX MONTHS OF SEMISTARVATION	40

PART I
INTRODUCTIONS
AND
EVALUATION



PURPOSE OF THIS MANUAL

FROM THE SPONSORS

Starvation is, unfortunately, not unknown among us. The dullness of undernourished children, the low efficiency of hungry men, and the languor of whole populations living at the subsistence level have long been matters of general observation. The details of starvation, however, have continued largely unknown. It remained for the scientist to isolate starvation so that its direct results could be studied.

The now well-known Minneapolis experiment is providing valuable information for the scientist, the religionist, the humanitarian and others interested in the well-being and efficiency of mankind. The detailed scientific findings will be made available at a later date.

The authors of this volume have done the experiment and the public a real service in making immediately and concisely available certain practical aspects of the psychology of starvation. They have attempted to present the attitude and behavior patterns of three dozen men as they experienced semistarvation, endured deficiency, and then came up out of the valley of insufficiency.

The experiment has served to emphasize the profound effects of starvation upon the behavior patterns of man. It has shown that the starving have certain rather definite patterns of behavior that are attributable solely to the lack of food. Many of the so-called American characteristics—abounding energy, generosity, optimism—become intelligible as the expected behavior response of a well-fed people.

The importance of this report is quite out of proportion to its brevity. It offers a new and dependable key

to the understanding of psychological problems in relation to physiological need. It suggests techniques for helping the millions who suffer from hunger, whether they are the victims of war or deficient or improper diet.

The fact that it is directed toward those who would work with war-starved populations should not conceal its real significance and long-time implications. Parents and teachers, philanthropists and industrialists, quite as much as relief and social workers, should be interested in this report.

We are deeply indebted to Doctor Ancel Keys and his staff for pioneer work in the scientific rehabilitation of semistarved men, to the thirty-six or more conscientious objectors who voluntarily starved themselves in order that millions involuntarily starved might become better fed, to the humanitarian foundations and church service committees for underwriting the project, and now to the authors for sharing their observations with all who would divide their substance with the hungry the world around.

M. R. Zigler

Executive Secretary

Brethren Service Committee

FROM THE LABORATORY

This little manual is designed to let you know some of the things to expect. Read it and study it; you will have fewer surprises and disappointments when you meet the real thing in the field. Here are none of the expected medical facts or technical matters of constructing shelters and preparing meals; for these you must look elsewhere. But all of you—physician, nurse, administrator, dietitian and just plain “helper”—must know that the person who has been starved for long is a special kind of person, different from the ordinary patient or relief client back home as well as from you and me. Fortunately, though misery has many faces, the starved person fits a characteristic picture anywhere and his emotional and personality state has uniform tendencies which allow generalizations to an uncommon degree.

The experimental study at the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, which began in November 1944 and is still not complete, has provided an immense body of information on many aspects of starvation and nutritional rehabilitation. This is being analyzed and made available in appropriate places as quickly as possible. The full and complete story cannot be published for months to come and we realize that even then a weighty monograph is not likely to appeal to the fieldworker. In the meantime it is our wish that practical application be made of the findings at both technical and nontechnical levels. The present booklet is one means of bringing some of the facts to immediate use. It should be noted that these facts and advice are not drawn wholly from

the University of Minnesota experiment but are known to apply also in the grimmer situation of "natural" famine.

The authors of this booklet were actively associated with the Minnesota experiment and had daily intimate contact with both subjects and staff. Mr. Guetzkow is a psychologist and has participated in this as in several other projects here for three years. Among other responsibilities he routinely gave various psychological tests and analyzed their results as well as having a share in the program of regular personal interviews and individual counseling. He is mainly responsible for Part II of this manual. His conclusions are based not only upon personal observation but upon such objective devices as the Rorschach ink-blot test and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. Mr. Bowman has had five years of experience in foreign relief administration. He was associated with the American Friends Service Committee and the International Commission for Child Refugees in their feeding program in Spain during the civil war. Later, he worked in France with Spanish and other refugee groups until the time of German occupation. More recently, he has represented the Brethren Service Committee in rehabilitation and child welfare work in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. In the present experiment he had charge of the educational program of the subjects. Mr. Bowman is mainly responsible for Part III of this manual. Both Mr. Guetzkow and Mr. Bowman were fortunate in having excellent rapport with the men and in sharing with them their common study of relief problems. In this pamphlet they tried to bring together the fruits of laboratory observations and field experience.

Since most of the facts presented here were gained primarily from the Minnesota experiment, it is proper here to record the sponsorship of this work. It may be of interest to note the diversity of helping hands; this is truly a co-operative enterprise. These may be listed: the Church of the Brethren, the American Friends Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Unitarian Society, the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, the Sugar Research Foundation, and the National Dairy Council. Valuable support came from a contract, recommended by the Committee on Medical Research, between the Office of Scientific Research and Development and the University of Minnesota; this contract was recently taken over by the Office of the Surgeon General, U. S. Army. Finally, we should note the important sponsorship by the University of Minnesota, chiefly through the department of athletics.

It is not intended that this booklet partake of the nature of a rigid set of instructions, and the authors assume the responsibility that goes with their presentation. I can, however, endorse the general accuracy of their observations and the wisdom of their advice.

Ancel Keys, Ph. D., Director

Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene

FROM THE AUTHORS

During the past year we have been privileged to participate in an intensive study of the behavior of men who voluntarily starved in the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene, University of Minnesota. We have interviewed these men many times. We talked with them, attended parties with them, saw them work, and participated in group discussions with them. Our notes were gathered throughout the entire year during which we saw the men under normal, starved and rehabilitated conditions. We want to share our observations with you, because we believe this report on the profound behavioral and emotional changes which occurred when the men were semistarved will help you prepare for work with starved people.

We approached the experiment skeptically, never thinking that the proposed 25% weight loss could induce a profound set of changes. We had thought that the striking changes which are described in starving peoples occurred only in extreme cases, or were largely caused by the tremendous insecurities and disruptions which accompanied war and famine. But we were mistaken—and perhaps our observations will help you decipher those behavioral patterns which are due to physiological starvation itself as compared with those aspects due to the many other distressing forces which act upon these unfortunate peoples.

Let us explain a bit more about the experiment itself. Thirty-two normal men from twenty-one to thirty-three years of age were first observed under normal nutritional conditions for three months. Then they were systematically semistarved for a period of six months, losing about 25% of their weight. Finally they

were rehabilitated for three months. These men were conscientious objectors who had volunteered for the starvation experiment, so that they could be of aid in determining what rehabilitation diets would be most efficacious in feeding the world's starving peoples. They had complete security, in that they were under constant medical supervision and knew they would be taken out of the experiment if anything serious went wrong. They were not exposed to, nor did they contract, contagious diseases. They were not bombed. They had the safety and security of the average American civilian in the continental United States. They knew beyond a shadow of a doubt that more food would be given to them at the end of the six months of starvation—their food rations were not dependent upon the vicissitudes of politics. In other words, this experiment presented an opportunity for observation of the changes in personal and group behavior of these thirty-two men during physiological semistarvation, without complication from the social and political forces that usually act upon peoples in war-torn areas. The physiological variable was systematically changed from sufficiency to starvation and finally to rehabilitation, while the other variables were held essentially constant.

In other experiments we have seen men undergo severe physical stresses—exposure to intense heat for twelve days, five-day complete starvation during hard work, three days and nights of sleep privation—all of these without radical changes occurring in personality. At the end of months of observations on these starved men we were deeply impressed with the magnitude of the behavioral changes caused by the semistarvation itself. We try to describe these changes in Part II.

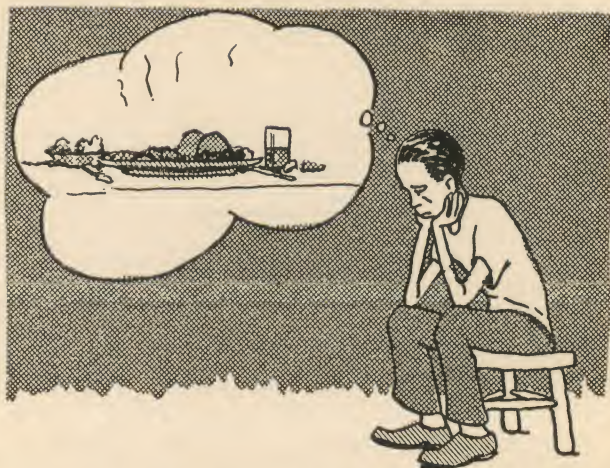
In Part III we attempt to apply the insights we gained from the starvation experiment to problems you will meet when working in a famine area. In these discussions we start from lessons learned in our observations of the starvation subjects. We also rely on the thinking of the subjects themselves—in the midst of their period of starvation they put in writing how they felt they wanted to be treated. Probably most important is the fact that our experimental observations are checked against actual relief experience. We have relied heavily on six years of personal experience in relief work in various countries to test the usefulness and practicality of our information.

Almost everyone recognizes, in theory at least, the importance of ministering to the psychological needs of people in distress. But the rejoinder of the active relief worker is all too familiar: "Fine if you have time for it; we don't. The main task of providing food, clothing, and shelter is never finished. How can we find time to handle social and emotional problems?" True. But it is our thesis that, without additional time or energy, you can greatly improve the mental well-being of the people with whom you work, simply by giving heed to the psychological nature of the starved. We hope that our suggestions can serve as a starting point for you in devising yet better means of preserving human dignity.

*Harold Steere Guetzkow
Paul Hoover Bowman*

*January 1946
Minneapolis, Minnesota*

PART II
EXPERIMENTAL
STARVATION



THINKING ABOUT FOOD

1. HOW DOES IT FEEL TO BE STARVED?

Let us first get a bird's-eye view of how a starving person feels by quoting directly from the diaries of our experimental subjects, written while they were starving.

First Month

"I am definitely weaker than I was once and though my energy level remains high, I have no reserve left."

. . . .

"When I feel lowest it seems as if all I'm doing is sitting like a little kid, waiting until school's out. Movements have slowed considerably this week; also less desire to move."

. . . .

"The time between meals has now become a burden. This time is no longer thought of as an opportunity to get those things done which I have to do or want to do. Instead, it's time to be borne, killed until the next meal, which never comes fast enough."

Second Month

"I just don't have any desire to do the things I should do or the things I want to do. Instead of writing a letter, I read a newspaper. Instead of studying, I read a pamphlet. Instead of cleaning, I putter around making excuses such as, 'Well, I really won't have enough time to do the complete job. I'll do it later.'"

"It wasn't what the boys did with their food that I didn't like but it was their method. They would coddle it like a baby or handle it and look over it as they would some gold. They played with it like kids making mud pies."

Third Month

"I purchased a tube of toothpaste yesterday. Finally got around to using it for the first time last night. Had a desire to eat the paste, but controlled it."

. . . .

"Received a new insight and shock as to my physical condition today. Tried to play table tennis for the first time in four months and was amazed at the amount of effort it took to hit the ball. Also the lack of co-ordination and poor response of the arm. I had no idea co-ordination would be so poor."

. . . .

"I find I am becoming more and more frank about showing my emotions and indicating my stripes, particularly at the table. I got up and left the table, telling ——— that I did not appreciate his licking his plate so noisily. I told him that he sounded like a d— cow."

Fourth Month

"This week of starvation found me completely tired practically every day. If they want to get any more work out of me, they're going to have to feed me."

Fifth Month

"I also found myself becoming senselessly irritable, particularly when I watched some of the bizarre eating habits of others. One mixture that came near flooring me was potatoes, jam, sugar, gingerbread—all thrown into a bowl of oatmeal and used as a sandwich spread. I hate to see guys picking around with this or that to make a superb sandwich, all the time letting their soup get cold."

. . . .

"Last week was unquestionably my toughest. I had hunger pains every day. Tuesday afternoon I had to quit work because the pains were so bad."

Sixth Month

"The days seem to go slower, to me anyhow. More a living or passing time from one meal to the next. I do things to pass time, rather than to gain from the doing."

. . . .

"Stayed up until 5:00 A. M. last night studying cook-books. So absorbing I can't stay away from them."

. . . .

"Those words must sound artificial to the well-fed, but so is the day dark to the blind."

With this understanding of the nightmare that is starvation, let us consider the matter in a more systematic fashion: first, the changes in motivation, then the

behavioral consequences of the physical changes, and finally the emotional, intellectual, and social changes which so profoundly influence the personality.

Remember as you read these sketches that all persons are not affected identically. The normal range of differences between individuals was greatly widened during semistarvation. Without exception, however, each man experienced some of the behavior patterns and reactions which are described. Remember, too, that these changes are the result of having a daily ration that in six months reduced the men's weight about 25%, and that they are not due to social stresses.



THAT HAGGARD LOOK

2. BEHAVIOR CHANGES INDUCED BY STARVATION

Changes in Motivation

In normal living there is an ebb and flow among the drives and impulses, first one dominating, then another. In starvation this pleasant balancing process is upset, and the hunger drive gradually dominates more and more of the person's activities and thoughts. Concomitant with this is a lessening of other drives, such as the diminution of sexual urges.

Hunger differs radically from the delightful nuances of appetite. Seldom do normal people clearly separate the two; never have they experienced the depth and omnipresence of dull, gnawing hunger pains. This kind of hunger is induced by the body consuming itself, such as leg and arm tissues wasting away.

When food is supplied, the individual is often caught between his desire to gulp it down ravenously, and to consume the prized possession slowly, covetously, so that the flavor and odor of each morsel are fully appreciated. Some of our thirty-two grown men licked their plates to avoid waste. Toward the end of the semi-starvation a number of the men would dawdle for two hours over a meal they had previously consumed in twenty minutes. No matter how the food was eaten, usually each man would leave the dining hall with his hunger undiminished. Many of the men toyed with their food, making weird and seemingly distasteful concoctions. Cold macaroni sandwiches were prepared by some men to tide them over the long midday stretch which extended from early morning until the evening meal. But the thought that there was a sandwich in one's pocket was excruciating, and often a man would

break his best resolutions and jealously eat it, basking in the exquisite aroma which clung to the cold macaroni. Throughout the six months of starvation this group of American men, accustomed to the variety of food that America provides, appreciated and enjoyed a monotonous menu of potatoes, turnips, rutabagas, dark bread, and macaroni. Hunger! Hunger! Hunger! They wondered whether this horrible nightmare would ever end.

Contrariwise, their sexual urge gradually decreased, and it was the rare individual who continued courtship at the end of the starvation. Budding romances collapsed, and some men wondered how they could have been so interested in *that* girl. One fellow's girl friend visited him from a distant city during the low days of starvation, and she found his ostensible affection disappointingly shallow. His reservoir of affectional responses was drying up.

It is difficult to delineate other types of basic motivations. The tendency for spontaneous activity which is universal in healthy adults was notably lacking. The men were tired and weak. The urge to get up and do something simply was not there; energy came niggardly. A man could not take two steps at a time going upstairs. He wondered if it were not foolish to make that side-excursion, because he did not have enough energy to do the things he wanted to do. Dancing was not fun—he would rather go to a movie. The men seldom fatigued in a healthy way; they felt old, stuporous.

Behavioral Consequences of the Physical Changes

The profound physical changes which were induced by the prolonged semistarvation had very noticeable ef-

fects upon behavior. An outstanding physical change was the 30% reduction in strength. Fellows who were used to sharing in all kinds of physical tasks were unable to do them any more. This was very discouraging. A person knew undeniably that he was losing ground: he was becoming debilitated. His bony, drawn face was ugly; he saw that in the mirror. When he chanced upon a prestarvation photograph of himself, he would look at it, and then feel surprised that he had changed so much. His gawking ribs and bulging collar bone were uncomfortable. He could not sit on wooden furniture, for his "cushions" were gone and the bony buttocks offered slight comfort. The pallor which masked his face could not be removed, even when he tried to tan himself in the sun. He was a sight unfit to be seen. At times he was ashamed of himself, in baggy clothes that never fit. He had to be careful in moving fast, if he arose too rapidly, he would sometimes "black-out" and faint. When he tried to go up stairs he needed to pause in the middle of them. Sometimes he failed to lift his leg high enough, and would fall flat on his face. Other times a sidewalk crack would trip him. Often he could not change his direction of movement fast enough, if he walked with an unstarved individual. He would weave while walking, and bump his companion; this was annoying. He did not like persons to touch his skin or caress him in any way. He wondered if the rapid loss of his hair was natural or had been accelerated by the starvation. He became cold quickly, for his body temperature had dropped about one degree. He seemed never to have enough blankets on the bed at night. His poor circulation meant that limbs would go to "sleep." Swollen legs made walking uncomfortable and running

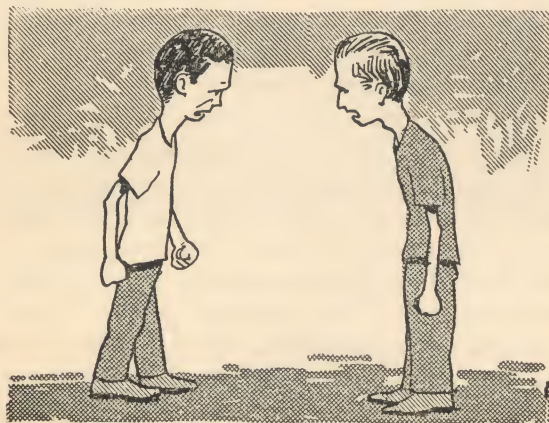
almost impossible. In the long run, it was better to stay near a radiator, whiling away the time in a soft rocker.

Changes in Emotionality

In the preceding discussion of basic motivational changes, the general lack of drive toward spontaneous activity was high-lighted. The most important emotional change coincides with this motivational apathy; namely, that there was a dulling of the emotional response of the individual with concomitant depression. Humor was gone. The men did not sing or whistle of their own accord. Music did not bring its former warmth. The dejection was exhibited in the lack of conversation at mealtimes. The men had not talked themselves out, but lacked the spark that fires curiosity. They were not interested in the ideas or activities of others, except as they were related to food-getting activities. Gloominess permeated many of their relationships. Smiles were not frequent, and the saddened faces grew longer each week as hunger gave way to more hunger. They saw the negative side of things now more than ever before. If there was a job to be done, the hurdles seemed so high and abundant—"Is it worth it?"—and discouragement and lack of confidence often followed in the wake of encounters with the real world. One man discovered during rehabilitation a change which had gone unnoticed in semistarvation; he had not blushed or become really frightened during starvation.

Superficially, the increased irritability of the semi-starving men contradicts the generalization that they were apathetic and introversive. The two characteristics, nevertheless, existed side by side. Occasionally the men were irritable; most often they tended to be

dull and bored. Overpowering frustration existed in the very fabric of their personalities because of the constant food deprivation. This frustration seemed to dictate their behavior in other areas. Petty defeats became very important and were the source of much irritation. Standing in line at the diet kitchen before being served was the source of explosive conduct. Indecisiveness on the part of the servers would give rise to ire, and to the suspicion that perhaps the cooks did not know what their ration should really be. The men "blew up" at each other on occasion. Mannerisms which formerly went unnoticed now became sources of friction. One man talked too loudly, another with too much affectation. Some persons spent too much time eating, or perhaps indulged in the disgusting habit of telling visitors how poorly they felt. During the worst times certain men refused to sit with each other at the dining room tables. They even felt impelled to leave



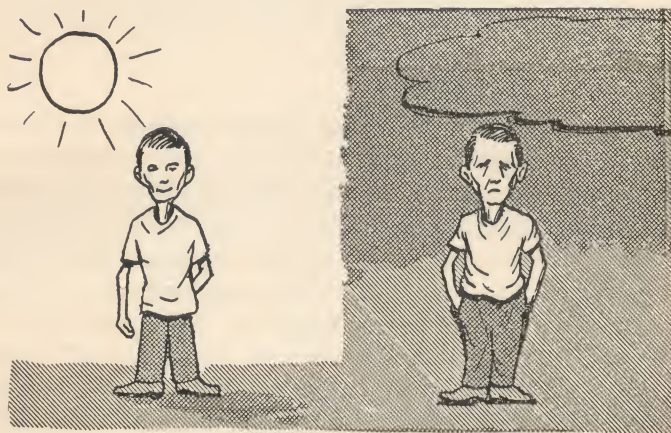
IRRITABILITY

the table if their "annoyers" happened to sit at the one at which they were eating. One man firmly ordered another to "get the h— out of here."

Their expressions of irritation were directed not only to those of their own number; the technical and administrative personnel who conducted the experiment drew their share of fire. One man commented in a letter to a friend, "I'm so hungry I could eat anything, but I'd start on the fat staff first." The men were annoyed at seeing the staff eat their lunches, and were still more annoyed when the staff tried to conceal the fact that they were eating—"There he sat, fat, hiding his lunch, while the aroma from his orange still permeated the air." One fellow conducted a nursery school youngster to and from school each day, until her childish antics grew so irritating that he resigned the job with the realization that his patience was meager and his self-control very limited.

This lack of control of irritability was one expression of a general lack of evenness or steadiness in mood. Although most often the men were silent and sad, on occasion they would become elated or feel "high." These periods of elation would last a few hours, or more often a few days. Some men would explain how good they felt, that maybe there was some quickening going on inside them from the starvation and that finally they had adjusted to the reduced ration. But this feeling never persisted, and their discouragement upon having been let down accentuated the next low period. One of the men who was eliminated from the experiment because of his inability to maintain the dietary restrictions underwent a severe alternation between despondency and unfounded feelings of well-being. One night when he

lost control over himself, he stopped at seventeen drug-stores on a hike from the edge of town back to the laboratory, having an uproariously good time at each soda fountain. He kidded with the fountain girls, thought the lights more beautiful than ever, felt that the world was a very happy place. The world was with him. This degenerated into a period of extreme pessimism and remorse; he felt that he had nothing to live for, that he had failed miserably to keep his commitment of staying on reduced rations.



WEATHER AND MOODS

Weather and Moods

Such cyclic tendencies were markedly influenced by the weather; warm, sunny days brightened the spirits immeasurably, while cold, damp, cloudy days lowered the men further in their abyss of dejection.

Although these men had no more social reasons for insecurity during starvation than during the previous

three months of standardization, a number of them experienced anxiety and insecurity reactions. For instance, one man wanted to have a little money in the bank; just having it there made him feel more at ease. In another individual this anxiety expressed itself in a restlessness, a feeling that he wanted to go somewhere, but he did not know where.

In general, the emotional changes which took place may be thought of as a combination of shallowness of emotion—the depression component—and lack of control, with the resultant escape into emotional outbursts and anxiety.

Changes in Sociability

One of the more profound changes which took place was the decreased sociability of the men. There were important exceptions to this, but even the men who managed to continue their social contacts often felt animosity toward strangers, merely because they were strangers. The men built up a tremendous in-group feeling that tended to exclude both their nonstarving friends and the administrative and technical staff. They were apart from others—those who had been well fed. They were especially alienated by the individual who supposed he knew what it was like to be hungry because he had gone without food for a couple of days. It was hard to sit near one's comrade who had extra food. They became provoked at the laboratory staff for giving "too much" food to some, and thought it criminal to restrict the rations of others, even though they clearly understood the experimental plan demanded such adjustments in rations.

Conversation with outsiders as well as among them-

selves degenerated in quality and lost its sparkle: they were a tired, dead group of men. They could not keep up the pace of conversations; questions often came too rapidly. Sometimes men were invited to parties; but they were not tactful, and they could not think of things to say; they really "didn't give a d— if they were bores," and would often find chairs by the fireplace in which to slouch away the rest of the evening. Often they realized they were not gentlemen in the gallant way they formerly had been, and they did not care. What difference did it make if they were unshaven and sloppily dressed? They would prefer to go to movies alone, while formerly a "show" was not real entertainment unless a companion could share in the fun. Humor often eases the tensions which arise in normal social situations, but these starving men lacked humor—they could not pull quips; they could not make light of things. Even in movies, slapstick comedy bored. They never had "belly-laughs." In a store when shopping, they were easily pushed around by the crowd. Their usual reaction was resignation.

Besides this more superficial type of inability to be sociable and co-operative, which widely pervaded the group as a whole, a few of the men were unable to remain voluntarily on the restricted diet throughout its entirety. Some of the violations were of a minor nature and did not jeopardize the experimental conclusions; in those few cases where major deviations occurred the subject was excluded from the experiment, or the data obtained was discarded. This deterioration of their ethical control was all the more remarkable because these men had shown themselves to be sincere and upright throughout the two or more years of work they

had performed in civilian public service units before coming to the laboratory. The laboratory had run vitamin experiments with other conscientious objectors and had not once found evidence of any violation of dietary regimens. The semistarvation pressure of hunger was, however, too much—their very beings revolted against the restriction. One of the individuals not only bought food, but also stole some from “locked” storerooms. Another individual sublimated his food cravings by stealing china cups from coffee shops. Although fasting is said at times to quicken one spiritually, none of the men reported significant progress in their religious lives. Most of them felt that the semistarvation had coarsened rather than refined them, and they marveled at how thin their moral and social veneers seemed to be.

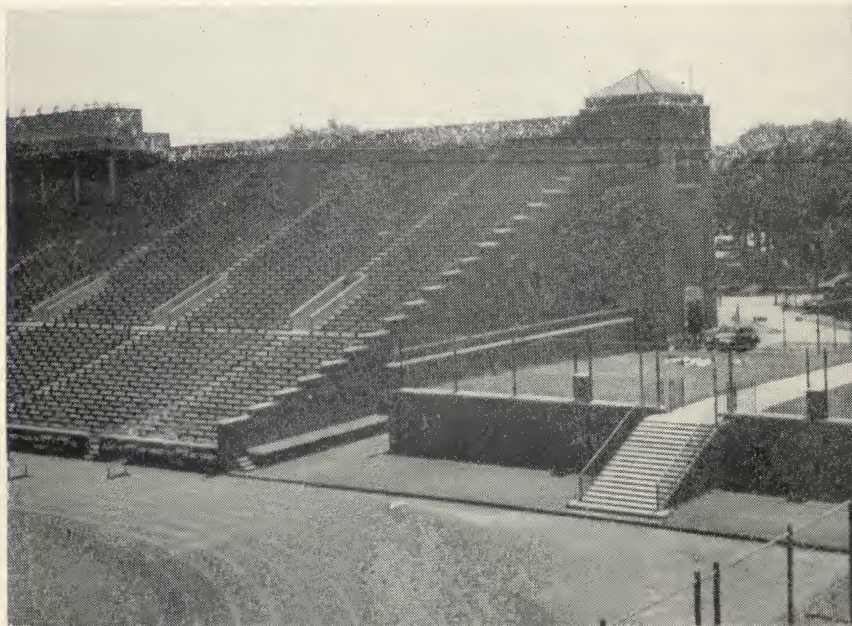
Changes in Intellectual Capacity

The psychological measurements which were made of intellectual ability demonstrated that there were no changes in this area. However, the deterioration described above had side-reactions in the intellectual area. The intensive preoccupation with food made it difficult for the men to concentrate upon the tasks they had intellectually decided they would work on. If a man tried to study, he soon found himself daydreaming about food. He would think about foods he had eaten in the past; he would muse about opportunities he had missed to eat a certain food when he was at this or that place. Often he would daydream by the hour about the next meal, which was not very far away: “Today we’ll have menu No. 1. Gee, that’s the smallest menu, it seems. How shall I fix the potatoes? If I use my spoon to eat them I’ll be able to add more water. Should

Laboratory
entrance



Stadium of the University of Minnesota where the laboratory was housed





Everything the
subject ate
was carefully
weighed out

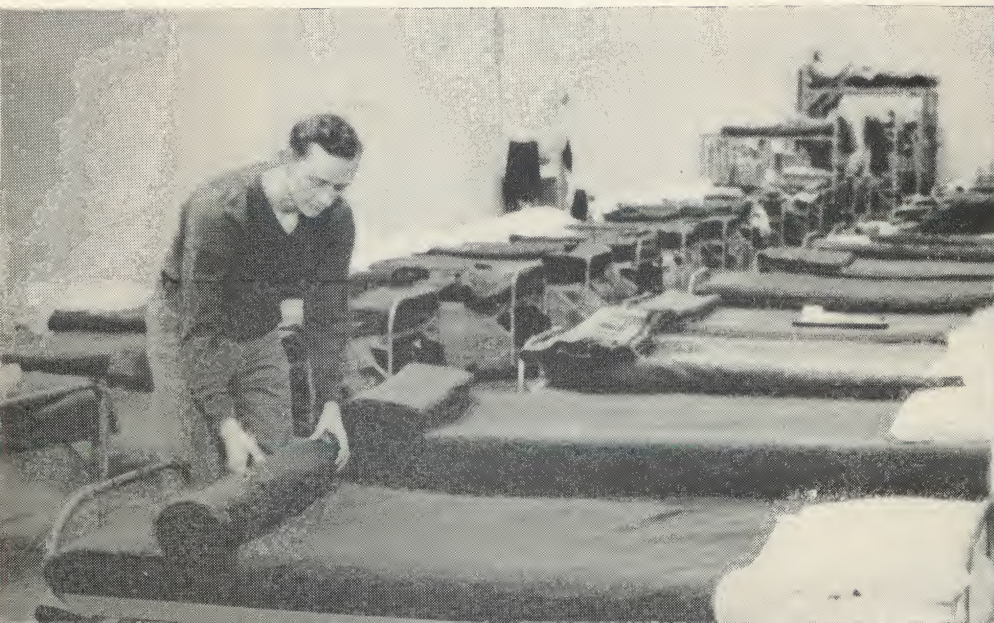
Eating was a serious matter

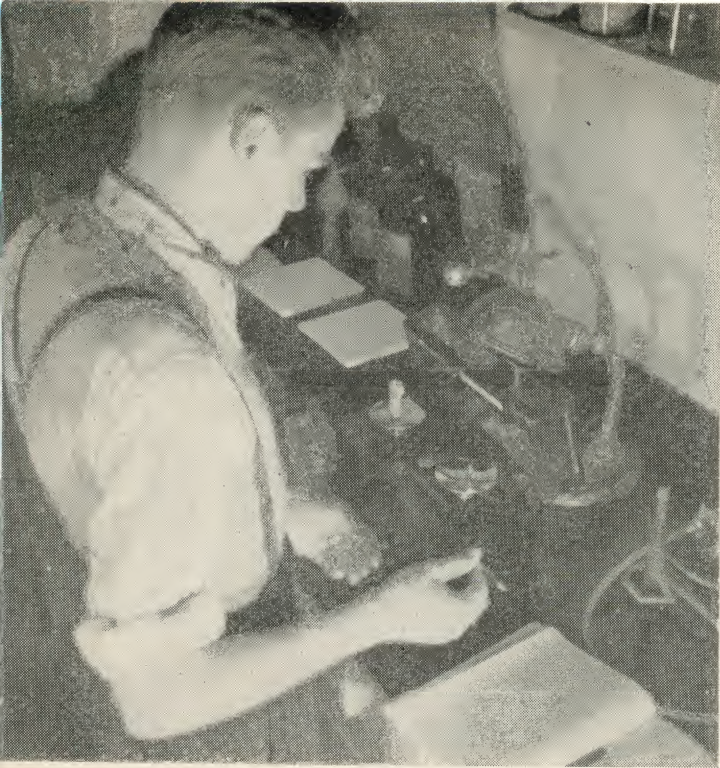


Subjects worked two
and one-half hours
each day . . .



. . . some in the laundry.
some at housekeeping



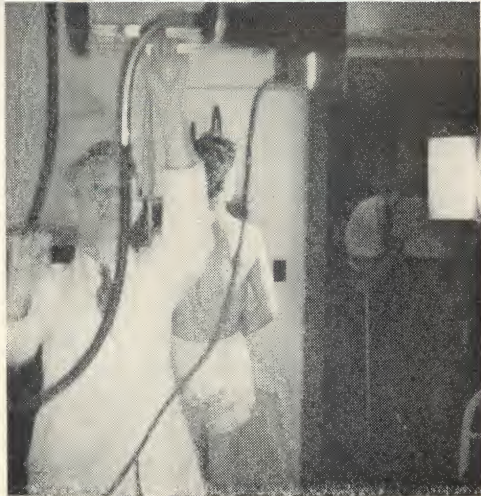


Samples for
all meals
were ana-
lyzed for
food con-
tent



Measuring
intellective
powers

X-rays were taken
of the lungs at in-
tervals



Measuring respira-
tory efficiency while
subject walks the
treadmill.

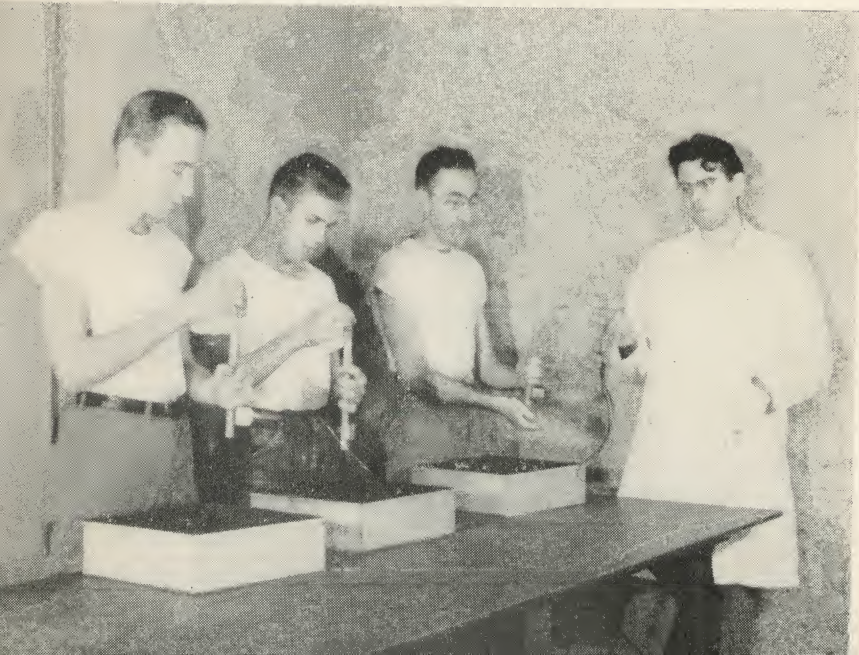




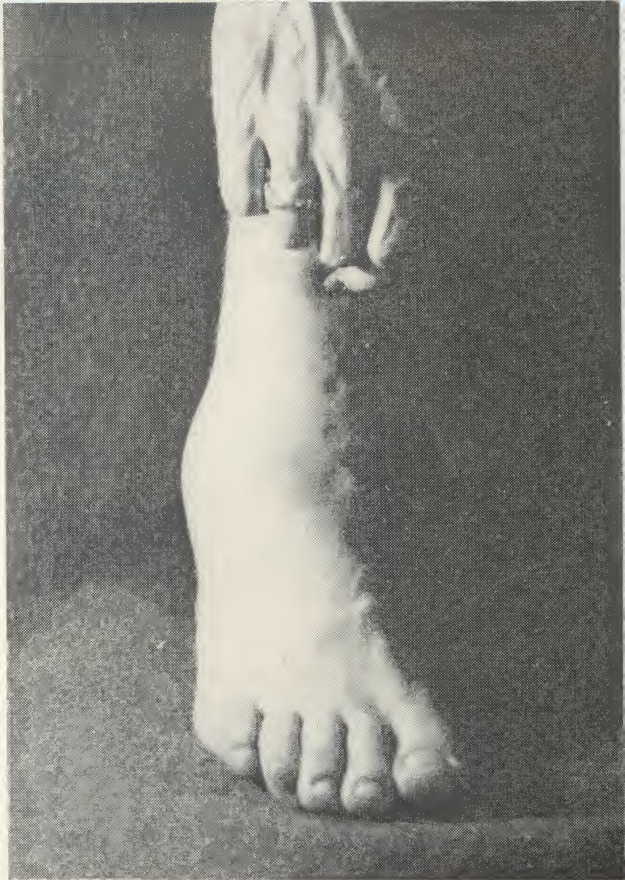
Sorting cards
of a personal-
ity inventory



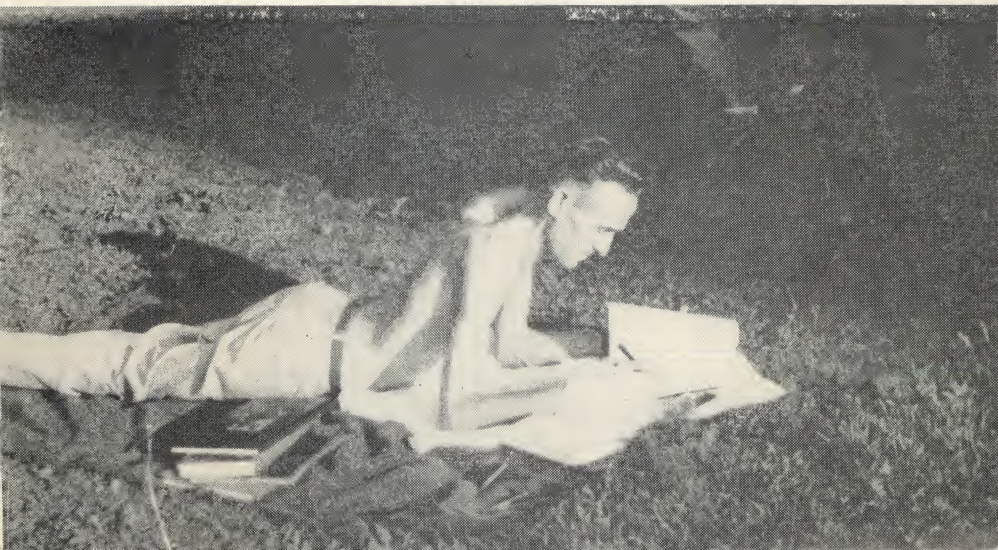
The ball and pipe test of psychomotor ability



Many
experienced
swollen feet
(edema)



Sunbathing
and studying





After six months of semistarvation

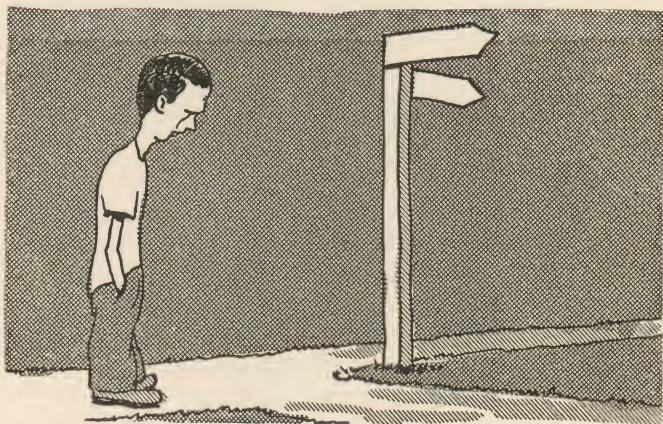


I make different varieties of beverages tonight? Haven't had my toast yet today. Maybe I should save some for a midnight snack with my buddy. What kind of a sandwich could I make? Maybe I'd better write these ideas down, so I don't forget them. If I eat a little faster the food would stay warm longer—and I like it warm. But then it's gone so quickly. . . ."

So ceaselessly he mused for an hour or two, until some external distraction would be strong enough to pull thoughts away from food.

About half of the group collected cookbooks and recipes. Toward the end of rehabilitation, one of the men told us how he now was throwing away his recipes. He had made out many that were senseless repetitions of others. Instead of having a single one for all flavors of custard pie, he had collected recipes for orange custard, for butterscotch custard, for lemon custard, for chocolate custard, and so forth. One starving engineer made a study of frozen-food lockers. Others became intensely interested in the physiology of nutrition.

Because of this all-pervasiveness of food thoughts, the men did not often have original ideas. It was hard for them to carry out their original plans and intentions. Some of the men used the device of turning to more physical and rote types of activities, such as wood-working and map-making. But even in these they had difficulty in persisting from day to day. The hunger drive often sidetracked them into other substitute activities, such as window-shopping and book-hunting. Often they would come home with "bargains"—clothes, toasters, books. One young fellow avidly collected *National Geographics*. After nine weeks of rehabilitation he was looking for ways of getting rid of them, as he



DIFFICULTY OF CHOOSING

knew he would always have access to them in libraries whenever he really needed them. Some substitute activities were more directly related to the food deprivation. Some took up smoking to "kill their hunger," but it did not. Others drank excessive amounts of water, to give them a "full" feeling. Until the laboratory prohibited the use of chewing gum, a few men indulged in "chain-chewing," consuming twenty to thirty packages a day, until their mouths ached and became sore.

Decisions came much harder. When one was out walking, he could not make up his mind which corner to take. The little matters in living in which decisions are inconsequential to the normal individual became major matters of deliberation with all of the torment that overtakes a person unable to choose between alternatives. It was often a relief for a semistarved man to walk with a healthy person, because then the starved

one did not have to make up his mind about where to go. Our starving subjects appreciated someone who knew what he wanted to do. This lack of volition was reflected in their indecisiveness about word choice—it was often difficult to find the right word to use. Getting started on anything was very hard, but the task was much easier to do, once the individual got in motion, than he had imagined when he was contemplating it. Even reaching a decision was no guarantee of being at ease on a matter. One man worked three hours on the problem of how to eat his evening meal and wrote his decisions down, only to find himself having to re-decide the entire matter when he actually sat down to eat the meal.

There was a gradual blunting of perception and a dulling of consciousness which was not noticed by many of the men during the gradual starvation. Upon rehabilitation feeding, however, this unnoticed vagueness became apparent. Life then became sharper—things looked clearer; one could see more. Reading became more of a pleasure, and the meaning of the passages became clearer. During starvation the men found themselves often confused by trying to undertake, or even think about, too many things at a single time. They wrote many reminder-notes to themselves. They would have to check their experimental testing time-schedule more often, "just in case I might forget."

3. BEHAVIOR CHANGES INDUCED BY REHABILITATION FEEDING

One of the men aptly characterized the difference between starvation and rehabilitation as the difference between old age and adolescence. During starvation the starving man understood old people. He knew why they were not active, why they enjoyed merely "sitting." During rehabilitation he relived adolescence, a period of great awakening. His increased strength was wonderful, and often he underestimated his ability. His motor movements seemed clumsy and unco-ordinated. Life experiences had a new freshness about them. He appreciated things much more than ever before. He took great joy in being able to work, and in turning out a product of which he felt proud. Slowly his sex urges again made his association with girls enjoyable.

Many of the symptoms of semistarvation clung tightly to the rehabilitating men. Old habits persisted for weeks; they continued licking their plates, for they wanted to get all they could. One individual continued collecting recipes, but found he was able to view them more objectively. Formerly all recipes were saved; during rehabilitation he was able to delete those that would be too expensive or impractical. It was easy to revert to one's starvation habit of "Well, take it easy. After all, you're starving."

The psychological improvements were not induced any more speedily than the physical, and often the men had difficulty in distinguishing between their "normal" and their semistarvation reactions. They no longer could blame all their shortcomings in conduct on semistarvation, and they had forgotten that normal folks must grab hold of themselves. The normal aches and

creaks of the body began to reappear, and the men had to learn again to adjust themselves to these minor complaints.

During the first two weeks of rehabilitation feeding, hunger often seemed whetted by the increased ration. But hunger gradually was transformed into normal appetite, centering more around mealtimes. Even the gnawing sensations seemed to lose their fierceness and compulsiveness.

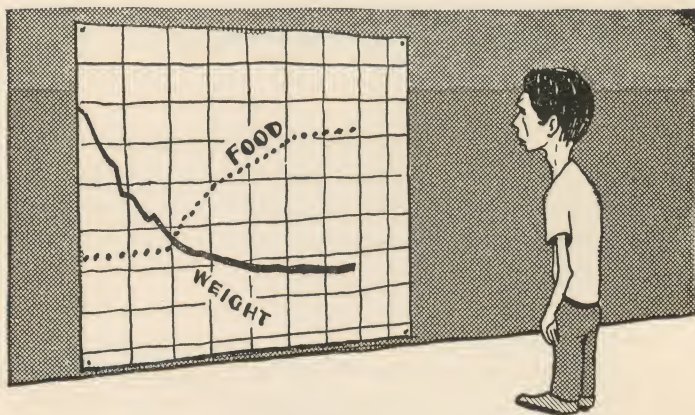
The energy level increased before the controls on emotional responses were re-established. Thus, for the first few weeks of rehabilitation, the irritability of the rehabilitating men was much greater, and its expression was more boisterous. Along with a general decrease in egocentricity, their aggression was directed outward and often lighted upon the administrative personnel.

In general, recovery during rehabilitation was a halting process, two steps ahead and one step backwards. The fluctuations in mood of the individuals were greater at the beginning of rehabilitation than they had ever been in semistarvation.

Comment. Despite the very important and radical changes which did occur in these starving men, their basic personality structures remained unchanged. The men were still very much identifiable—their idiosyncracies were still present. One got the feeling that they were men who were being torn by stress, and were not as well knit as formerly. Starvation roughened them and widened the chasms in their integration. They were men who postponed their living, while they endured the awful present.

In order to keep perspective, the relief worker must

recognize that starving persons retain very many of their normal characteristics. Their past experiences and old habits remain to aid them in making adjustment to their new situation. That they are capable of assuming some responsibility and exercising self-control was demonstrated by the fact that only a small percentage of the men in our experiment failed to abide by the difficult dietary restrictions. The relief worker can utilize this great potential for normal behavior by adopting relief practices which will reinforce the normal rather than the abnormal tendencies.



CONTINUED LOSS OF WEIGHT DURING REHABILITATION

PART III

RELIEF WORK AND STARVATION



COUNSELING

4. HELPING STARVED PEOPLE PSYCHOLOGICALLY

General Observations

To those experienced in relief work, the first part of this manual should be sufficient in itself. The application of the knowledge gained does present difficulties for the individual new to the relief field. We shall pose some practical problems in relief administration and suggest solutions that are indicated by the results of the experiment.

Relief work among starving peoples usually occurs in areas of famine caused by war or by crop failures, and our discussion is oriented mainly to these emergency-type situations. The same principles, of course, apply to extremely low income groups, slave populations, those living in barren regions, and others chronically starved.

This relief work will likely operate in one of two types of local situations. It may be done in camps—prisoner-of-war, slave-labor, refugee, transient, army or children's camps. In this case the relief authorities usually will have complete control of the entire community life. Then, too, it may be done through distribution centers set up within the framework of a settled city community. In this case the relief workers will probably control only those problems relating to the reception, transportation, storing, preparation, and distribution of food and clothing.

The discussion that follows presumes extreme levels of semistarvation, and suggests how the authorities can work toward meeting the psychological needs of the persons under their administration. Intermediate lev-

els of starvation, limitations of time and personnel, and different national customs will, of course, make necessary many modifications and compromises.

From the expressed likes and dislikes of starving men and from our observation of their reactions to various administrative procedures, there does come a modicum of points that most of them agree upon. How starving men think they want to be treated is not necessarily the way they should be treated, even in order to realize the ends that they themselves desire most. Practically all of the men in the experiment mentioned at one time or another that they wanted, above all else, to be treated as normal persons. Perhaps a truer statement of their wishes would be that they wanted to be made to *feel* that they were normal persons. In many situations they could be treated as normal; in some, it was impossible to do so without producing emotional upsets. Starvation is abnormal, and to aid abnormal persons is indeed difficult.

One subject in our experiment said he wanted to be babied physically but not mentally. He wanted to be accepted by all of the social groups he was in and to be on the same footing as anyone else. Of course there would be differences, but he did not want them talked about. All men said they wanted no pity, no "gushiness," no expressions of sympathy. The other extremes—of backslapping and minimizing the pangs of hunger—were equally revolting. Do not ask starving people how they feel. They do not want to admit how bad they feel, even to themselves. "How are you?" is acceptable as a greeting but not as a question—sometimes not even as a greeting. Quiet and sincere greetings, are, however, much appreciated, but one must not

always expect answers to greetings, either in word, gesture, or smile.

Humor

Jokes have a habit of falling flat with these persons, and one's immediate reaction is to reduce the humor in conversation to a minimum. Yet the subjects seemed to value the other fellow's sense of humor as an aid in bearing their burdens. The humor most appreciated was subtle, indirect, and tempered. Witty conversation was enjoyed, but loud jokes and boisterous laughter were not. In teaching classes we found little or no response to most attempts at humor, but a light touch of wit was often remembered a week later. The prudent worker will never make light of starvation, of the problems of starving peoples, or of their peculiarities; these things are not funny.

Discussion of Food

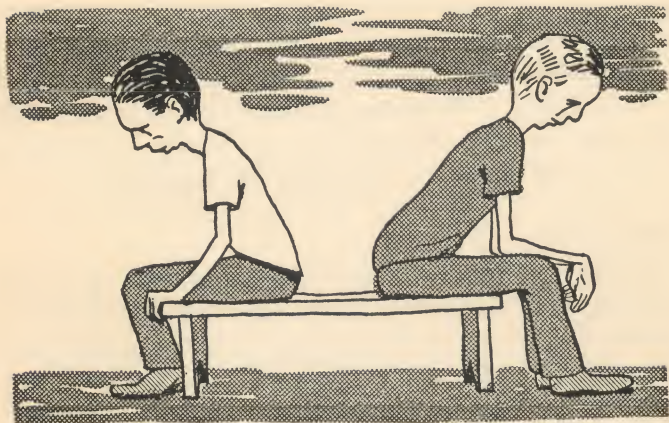
The relief worker is always conscious that the starving think only of food. Should he talk about food and draw out conversation on the topic, or should it be ignored? There was much discussion of favorite recipes. Outside speakers who discussed anything relevant to food were well received; for instance, two soybean experts were welcomed by our group with enthusiasm. Some individuals became disturbed about their increasing concentration on food topics, and tried to control themselves. The persons who succeeded in substituting other interests for that of food were rare. Most attempts ended in increased preoccupation with food topics. The safest procedure for the worker is to avoid mentioning food unless the subject is brought up by one

of the group. We do not believe it is harmful for starving individuals to indulge their food interests. It is an unpardonable error for the worker to mention the dislike of any food, even if the recipients themselves might do so. All food, in fact or fiction, must be treated with respect and reverence.

Moodiness

Everyone experienced depression, moodiness, and some irritability as a direct result of starvation. When conscious of this effect the men disliked it greatly and were eager to change themselves, but few were successful in controlling the onslaught of their depressions. They were conscious of not-infrequent failures in conforming to accepted social and moral standards, and at times this added to their depression. How can this brooding be remedied? Several said that their moods could be checked by conversation that was interesting to them, on such topics as food, memories, friends, and special interests; generally, however, men only felt more irritated with attempted conversation or even the presence of other people. Some profited from the urgings of the staff and their friends to think and to plan for the future; for others this only increased their sense of frustration. Many felt the need for some sort of immediate activity in which they could see accomplishment.

We do not believe there is any answer to some of these problems, although your starving persons will endlessly try abortive solutions. Psychotherapy cannot cure psychological complaints due to physiological causes. Each relief worker must face the fact that these abnormal reactions can be removed only by nutri-



UNSOCIABILITY

tional measures. Because of this, the relief worker is faced with a very real dilemma: if he tells the starving individual that nothing can be done but to give food which is not available, he encourages further personality disintegration and an attitude of resignation. On the other hand, if the relief worker adopts the various measures suggested in this discussion, he is bound to achieve only limited results, as he does not remove the fundamental cause of the abnormal behavior.

The relief worker must reconcile himself to the fact that his work in meeting the psychological problems of starving persons is ameliorative, not remedial, as long as they are inadequately fed. In his personal relations he can attempt to reduce the chasm that exists between a starved and an adequately fed person by tempering his own more lively reactions. The tactlessness and peculiarities of the starving individual must be overlooked, and not made the occasion for taking offense. He can

help the starving individual recognize the changes which have taken place, so that the latter will more realistically adjust his aspirations and his actions to the new conditions. Patience, grounded in an understanding of the nature of these abnormalities, is a powerful tool in working with folks who are starving.

Physical Activity

One of the greatest changes from normal life is the starving man's physical inertia and emotional apathy. Extra steps or extra movements are bothersome; the relief worker should plan errands and tasks for the undernourished so that no unnecessary energy is expended.

Do not expect the starving man to make quick responses. He does not want to talk fast, and usually he prefers not to talk at all unless it is important or definitely interesting. Quiet and sincere conversation is appreciated, but the worker must not expect alert or hearty answers. Do not "make" conversation; silent companionship is greatly appreciated and much preferred. Let the undernourished person sit whenever possible. Do not force him to activity or try to hurry him. To impose your level of performance upon him results in his becoming further depressed and discouraged. Help him set goals which are within the range of his achievement. This is difficult, for he chooses goals on the basis of his memory of the abilities he possessed when well nourished. He is, nevertheless, quite conscious of his physical weakness, and unnecessary exhibitions of strength and vitality on the part of others are a source of irritation. To see staff members take two stairs at one step was annoying to the men in our experiment.

Even though they had to operate at low efficiency, most men in our experiment were anxious to do what they could and without assistance. They wanted to be given tasks and then left to carry them out. Of course such tasks must be within their greatly reduced physical powers, and generous time allowances must be made. Above all, there must be no "made" work. Most starved persons want to feel they are useful additions to their community. Their work activities, however, will probably have to be organized on an individual basis, or with a very few men working together. As they become more rehabilitated, the complexity of the work group can be increased.

Group Solidarity

We have constantly emphasized that the starving live in their own little world with little interest in the larger areas of life. At the same time self-control is at a low ebb and the strength of ideals and standards lessened. Then it becomes more necessary than ever to try to develop as much group spirit and solidarity as is possible under the conditions that exist. If you have a rather homogeneous group, this spirit may already exist. This was true in the case of our experiment: These men had a common conviction against war, a common concern about the starving of the world, plus the individual dedication to offer themselves to help alleviate this suffering. These ties were extremely strong, but they often lost their cohesiveness during the days of starvation. The fear of letting the group down or breaking faith with the others who were going through this ordeal was often reported as the strongest factor in withstanding the temptation to eat forbidden food. A

spirit of mutual concern must be constantly and diligently sought on whatever basis possible.

When the starved are being rehabilitated, you, along with them, will be disappointed that improvements do not occur more rapidly. Many habit patterns, especially those related to food activities, will tend to persist. Allowances must be made for this, even though the cause of the abnormal habit is now gone. Readjustments must take place before the persisting trait is abandoned. You can allay needless fears by reassuring your rehabilitating friends that they will in all probability become entirely rehabilitated psychologically if they are given time. Some will need encouragement in meeting the new demands that their increasing activities place upon them. Again, the watchword is *patience*.

In addition to these general ways of handling starved peoples, we will now discuss techniques for promoting the psychological well-being of the starving through the daily activities of relief operations.

5. PROBLEMS RELATING TO FEEDING

The world for a starving man revolves around his stomach. Those who have not experienced starvation never fully appreciate this fact, and must constantly remind themselves that it is of first importance. Everything else is secondary. Usually the amount of food available for relief feeding is quite limited and far below the required amount, and for this reason it is increasingly important to give consideration to psychological factors, since they become more difficult with continued substandard feeding. The way feeding operations are administered can materially help or damage the psychological well-being of the group.

Eating Places

The dining hall is the "holy of holies." Try to make it as attractive as possible. You will not receive much spoken appreciation for your efforts, but it will nonetheless be felt. Unnecessary noise should be eliminated, and soft music will help to drown out the necessary noise and to provide a relaxed atmosphere in which to eat. Perhaps it would be wise to provide both long tables for those who want to eat quickly and small tables for those interested in conversing during their meals. It is important to have comfortable chairs which are reasonably soft. Above all, do not require people to stand in long lines for extended periods of time. If it cannot be arranged to feed people as soon as they arrive, then arrange a numbering system so that a person can take a number when he arrives and wait his turn, while resting in a chair.

Tastiness of Food

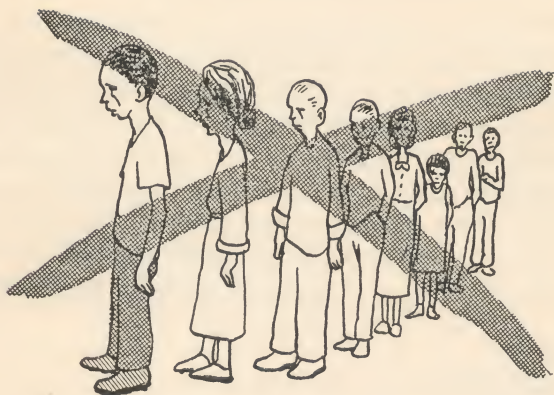
Hot foods should be served piping hot and cold foods ice cold, if possible. When hunger is not satisfied with a sufficient quantity of food, the temperature becomes more important. Most food should be reasonably well seasoned, but plenty of condiments on the table for individual use increases the satisfaction each individual can get from his food.

Schedule

The eating schedule should be rigidly adhered to, and changed only when necessary. For the recipients, life centers on the moment the dining-hall doors are opened at mealtimes. If they are opened early, there are always some who have reason to be unhappy about it; if the meal is late, everyone is unhappy.

Waste of Food

There must be no waste. Good administrators will see to this simply as good administrative practice, but special attention must be called to the extremely demoralizing effect on starving people of seeing one bit of food thrown out. Scraps must be religiously saved and used. No dogs or cats should be allowed in the neighborhood, because there will always be suspicions that they are consuming food that should be feeding humans. There should be no munching of food, inside or outside the dining room, by an already well-fed staff. There, of course, will be no problems of garbage—plates will be scraped or licked clean. If you can avoid it, do not ask starving persons to work in the kitchen handling food unless you give them extra rations; when one is hungry, it is torture to smell and handle food that he



NO WAITING IN LONG LINES

is not allowed to eat. If there are other well-fed groups in the same area, such as army or labor battalions, try to see that they waste no food, or at least that the waste is not observed by the starving.

Groupings at Meals

With the tendency for the starving to feel resentful of the well-fed, the staff and other working groups should not eat with the starving group, at least, not regularly. The staff and visitors might occasionally do so for the value of the social visit, but they should be certain in that case that they eat every bit of food served them; that they eat exactly the same food and the same amount as served to all the others; that they eat it with relish; and that they make no unnecessary comment about the food, either in praise or in criticism. The staff must have a normal diet if they are to maintain personal mental health and efficiency and to do the amount of work required of them, but they must get their food at some other time or place.

If there must be different levels of feeding within the starvation group—for different age groups, for the sick, for special diets, for working groups—have them eat at different times, even if this cuts across more natural grouping, such as families or barracks. It is important that people who sit down to eat together shall do so on a relatively equal basis, and that they do not have to see some group receiving special privileges, even though intellectually they can accept the need for different diet levels.

Size of Serving

By some method it should be guaranteed that each person will receive exactly the same amount of food. This is just another application of the principle of equality and of no partiality in dealing with your group. There should be no guesswork, and the method used should show clearly to those being fed that they are getting equal servings. Weighing is exact, but not very practical for relief work; scales are not usually available, and it requires too long to weigh out each serving exactly. It also has the disadvantage of showing up to the recipient the minute differences in servings that will always be present. Probably the most practical method is to have serving ladles of the exact size of the serving. The ladle should always be filled and leveled off, not partially filled by guesswork; this will mean quite a few ladles, of course, but they can be made from different-size tin cans and other materials usually available. It has been remarked that there is considerable satisfaction to a person on a controlled diet to have occasionally a choice of foods. While this is usually impractical in relief operations, it is worth mentioning.

Control of Food Supplies

All stored foods should be kept out of sight at all times, and the preparation of food had better be shielded from the public view. Furthermore, stored supplies should always be kept under lock and key and behind strong doors. This is just good business procedure in a famine area, but it also serves the purpose of avoiding temptation for those who might have difficulty in restraining themselves if the food were not protected. It also gives a sense of security to the whole group to know that the supplies which will keep them alive are protected from the possibility of criminal acts. In the case of large warehouses a guard or night watchman is a minimum essential. There is the further danger of mismanagement and graft, and to protect against this there might be three or four locks on the storeroom, one key to each lock, and each key in the hands of a different person. In this way, the room could not be opened except when all these men with their keys were present. The persons to carry the keys need to be carefully selected and representative of different interested groups; it should probably include someone from the business staff or administrative office, from the kitchen, from local welfare groups, and from the recipients themselves. These men would be selected by staff and recipients for their trustworthiness. All food records should be made public—new shipments received, stockroom balance, menus (past, present and future), financial expenditures. You may be assured that any mistakes will be reported immediately by your self-appointed auditors.

Never forget that anything relating to food should be handled with respect and reverence.

6. PROBLEMS RELATING TO LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

Relief workers will likely have complete control of living arrangements only in a camp setup. But even if the relief program is limited to operating feeding stations within a city community, the relief worker will wield considerable influence in other areas of community life. Therefore, the worker, either directly or indirectly, should concern himself with the following problems.

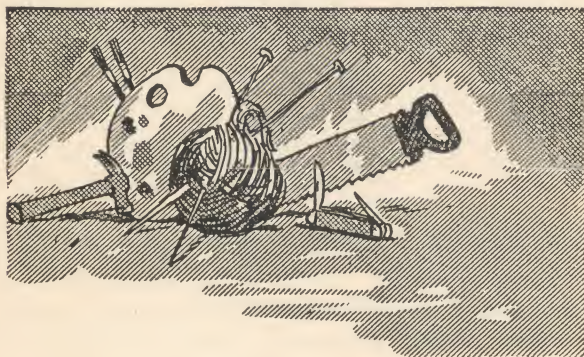
Protection From Cold

The lowering of body temperature is more serious than it sounds, for it makes the starving very sensitive to cold weather. This means it is necessary to provide warm clothing, warm blankets, and some warm place where people can spend their daytime hours.

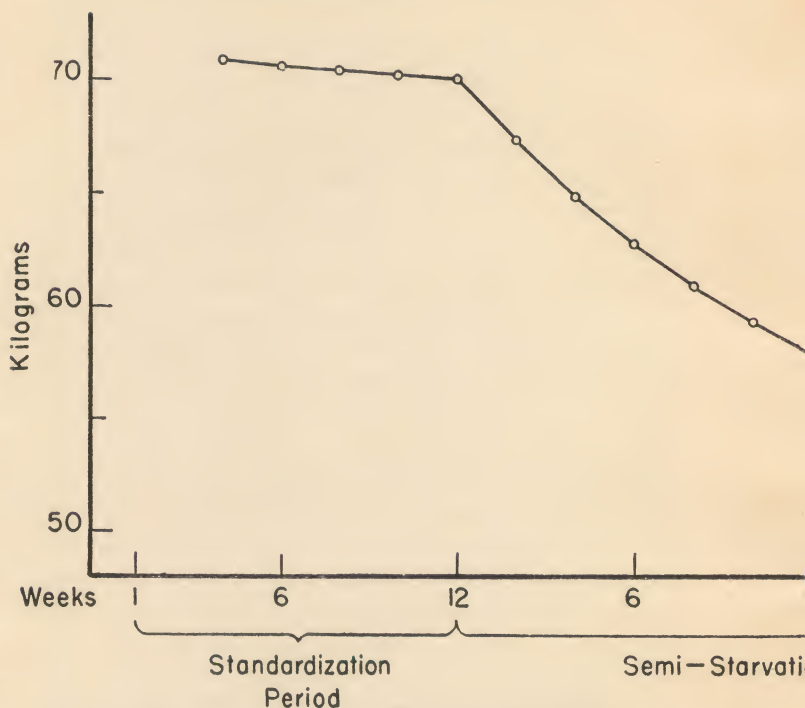
Activities

People do not want to do much in the way of activity, and yet for their own well-being they should do something. It must not be strenuous activity that uses up precious energy, but it should involve physical, concrete things. It will have to be almost entirely individual rather than group activity, something that can be picked up and begun easily, that requires little concentration and little originality. Obviously activities will have to be many and varied to meet the needs of large groups. We tried to meet these needs at Minneapolis by organizing study groups in which men could follow individual projects at their own speed. It failed, and largely because research and original thinking, planning and organization were required. These ac-

tivities the men could not successfully do, and this increased their sense of frustration. Even letter-writing was a casualty of starvation; too much initiative was required. However, other parts of our educational program that required a following of definite procedures and patterns—music, lectures, language courses, individual reading, play readings, study of relief practice, auditing university courses—were definitely successful in directing thinking away from starvation and giving a sense of accomplishment. For the intellectuals these activities will be essentials; for nonintellectuals handwork of various kinds would seem to answer these requirements, and preferably handwork that can be done sitting down. A woodwork bench at the laboratory was little used because it required standing. In camps in France we experimented with knitting among the women and artificial limb making among the men, and both proved extremely valuable.



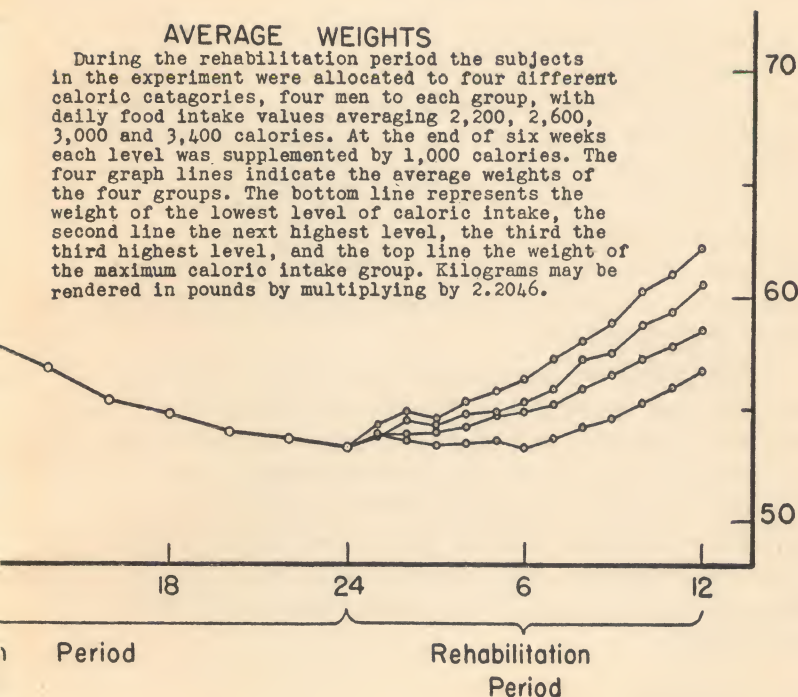
HANDWORK



The greatest problem in introducing activities is to overcome the great inertia of starving people. If some people are to be drawn into activities they will have to be urged against their wills. It is advisable to go to this extreme only in certain cases where persons are becoming morose and indrawn, and are unable to pull out

AVERAGE WEIGHTS

During the rehabilitation period the subjects in the experiment were allocated to four different caloric categories, four men to each group, with daily food intake values averaging 2,200, 2,600, 3,000 and 3,400 calories. At the end of six weeks each level was supplemented by 1,000 calories. The four graph lines indicate the average weights of the four groups. The bottom line represents the weight of the lowest level of caloric intake, the second line the next highest level, the third the third highest level, and the top line the weight of the maximum caloric intake group. Kilograms may be rendered in pounds by multiplying by 2.2046.



by their own efforts. You might consider establishing some sort of system to give credit for handwork made and contributed to the relief program. For instance, a small additional ration might be given to all who are actively engaged in work for the common good—sewing, cleaning, cooking, knitting, office work, repair,

farming, camp government, or whatever is available. With this system it must be guaranteed that everyone has the opportunity to contribute to the group something of which he is capable. Completed articles of handwork could be given value as payment for a certain number of meals. Meals, of course, would not be denied those who did not produce, but this method has the value of making people feel that they are earning their way. A public scoreboard of work produced serves as an incentive.

A thoughtful worker will likewise make use of the fact that the starving are emotionally affected by the weather. Some special and cheerful activities might be saved for bad days, and beautiful days might be utilized in outdoor activities. Moving pictures are an especially welcome form of amusement, but it is possible that romances and comedies will not be appreciated as much as drama, restrained humor, and educational topics.

Sex Problems

Sex interests gradually dropped out of the picture after the onset of semistarvation. There is every reason to expect that starvation in mixed populations would tend to reduce the sex problems of the community. This factor should be noted in preparing for the social and recreational life of the starving groups; sexual interests can no longer be used as a focal point for parties and group activities.

Regularity in Daily Life

Daily, weekly, and monthly schedules should be made after considering the convenience of all persons and

groups, and then displayed in all public places and rigidly followed. The rest of the time belongs to the private worlds of the persons involved, and they should have opportunity to plan that time without interference. Change from the announced routines should not be contemplated unless obviously necessary, and then should be announced well in advance if possible. Why is this emphasized? Because in many cases the planning of their daily activities is the only area of choosing left to the individual.

Housing Arrangements

Energy is a commodity to be hoarded. Living and eating quarters should be arranged conveniently. Since starving individuals seldom run, plenty of time must be given for moving around. The use of stairs should be avoided as much as possible because of the extra energy required and danger of serious injury through falls. Places to sit, however crude, are necessary. If these can have soft seats it is much better.

Bathing

Many of our men expressed appreciation for hot baths on their cold, sluggish bodies. We know from experience that if they can be provided in relief situations they not only combat the filth diseases and provide bodily comfort, but that they do wonders in boosting general morale.

Privacy and Quiet

Starvation increases the need for privacy and quiet. Noise of all kinds seems to be very bothersome and especially so during mealtimes. This was one of the chief causes of irritation between members of the

group. Usually there was resentment at having to be herded together in large groups for any reason whatever. If group meetings were necessary, they were to be endured rather than enjoyed.

Listening to soft music was enjoyed by many men; sometimes it was too loud for the neighbor, but the radio-phonograph at the laboratory was in almost constant use. Attempts to break in upon the privacy of individuals should be well considered beforehand, and the results carefully calculated. In any concentration of large groups in cramped quarters many simple things can be done, such as different arrangements of furniture to form small units, the use of local, cheap materials as screens, the allocation of "spots" as belonging to certain families or individuals. If possible, keep families together and give them some privacy in their living quarters.

7. PROBLEMS RELATED TO COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT

The processes of good government, and especially of democracy, are very difficult to organize in starvation situations because of the breakdown of group life. The starving usually have little interest in government and cannot call up enough energy to participate in self-government, but always they want the democratic channels open to them. Whatever sort of government is set up must take into account not only the level of starvation, but the quality of leadership available in the group and the social background of the various nationalities represented.

Burden of Government Falls on Staff

Usually people coming out of a functioning democracy will want to delegate the powers of government to the staff or to some outside group, and in a camp situation the staff can quickly take the cue and proceed to organize the group. In a community setup the powers probably already are delegated to town officials. Even though these officials may not feel like taking active roles, they do not want to give up their prerogatives. While it is more difficult to get action under these circumstances, the relief worker must concern himself in getting some adjustment of responsibilities. If local people are selected for definite responsibilities, they must be given additional rations to help them do the tasks involved. In matters of food and rations, however, authority had better be centered in nonstarving people.

Group Gatherings

Meetings of any groups should be as infrequent, short, and concise as possible. Men will not want to discuss at length, neither will they be tolerant of long discourses. The writers still remember a meeting called to hear and discuss routine matters of the educational program of the men at the laboratory. The first speaker took forty-five minutes in presenting matters of importance. The second speaker had nothing of importance to present, and after two or three sentences he sat down. There was immediate applause, not for the content of the speech, but for its brevity.

The best results will be obtained if the leader of the meeting will bring definite proposals to be rejected, changed or accepted, rather than depending on the group to evolve courses of action from their discussion. It is important first that the group give a grant of authority to some unstarved persons, and then that the responsibility of questioning and reviewing the administration be left to the members of the group. This function can usually be handled by individual conversations rather than in group gatherings.

Handling of Complaints

Whatever the form of government, there should be a definite system for handling complaints, a system that allows each individual to carry any concern to the proper authorities and to get a personal answer. Perhaps one person will be designated to receive complaints, or each member of the staff will have definite hours to hear complaints. If the staff can mingle informally and frequently with the group, they will discover tensions before they are fully grown, and will contact many per-

sons that would never take the required effort to go to an office. A comprehensive counseling program is one of the best and most needed safeguards of mental health in emergency situations, because the individual problems are all different and often they are acute. Such a program must be aimed at catharsis through personal interviews with people literally lost in mass concentrations, and at the interpretation of tensions, peculiar to starvation, which many persons are experiencing for the first time.

Information Service

Government centered in a few people with minimum control by the group will always be misunderstood, especially when the group is discontented because of their unfortunate situation. Informing the group what is being done, and why, is just as important as getting things done. Billboards are the easiest way. Counseling programs can help give interpretations administrative to actions, and short, infrequent, group meetings for the purpose of announcing actions and answering questions are satisfactory. A great amount of dissatisfaction and much extra administrative work can be prevented by adequate interpretation of policies.

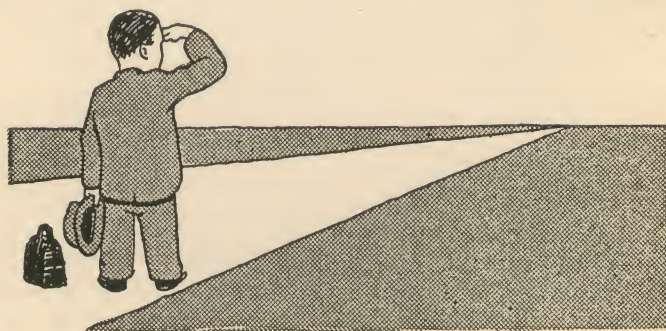
Summary

Above all, try to show no partiality, and refrain from arguments; the starving are ready to argue on little provocation, but they usually regret it immediately. You are working with people who are living in a narrow world of their own interests and concerns, who must be patiently dealt with as individuals. They are similar to normal people, but have most of the peculiarities and

sensitivities of normal people in a greatly exaggerated form. Improvement in their psychological well-being through a carefully and tactfully executed program will not only save much time and effort for the relief worker, but will result in more effective help to the recipients.

In Conclusion

Our picture of the starving man is a composite of thirty-six different men. A composite necessarily fails to portray individual differences, but for this there seems to be no alternative in a concise manual. Our picture is of experimental subjects. While this seems to offer unique opportunities to see starvation in an isolated form, we fully recognize that it is not wholly comparable to the complex situations of actual relief work. We have tried to present information gained from an experiment costly in money and energy, and to suggest ideal solutions toward which to work. We hope it will be helpful to all who work with the starving.



GETTING PERSPECTIVE

MEN AND HUNGER . Guetzkow and Bowman